1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
[P V]

PREFACE

THE present volume is the tenth published report of the Papuan Government on anthropology. It was also accepted and approved by the University of Adelaide as thesis for the Honours degree of M.A.

The aim of the book is primarily ethnographical. Interpretations of native customs have been essayed only in passing, and no attempt has been made to criticize them from the practical view-point. A Government anthropologist, however, must make some show of being a practical one. If those who have dealings with the Orokaiva—perhaps those also who have dealings with other native peoples—are helped by reading these pages to know their men better, then even pure description is not devoid of practical usefulness. Anthropology, if not necessarily a full-time job, is at least a slow business; and the magistrate, amid a multitude of distractions, cannot always find time for it. But knowledge of native custom is admittedly essential to good government; and books of this kind, in so far as they do something to supply this knowledge, can fairly lay claim to a practical value.

The information presented here was got together during two sojourns in the Northern Division, the first from September 1923 to February 1924, the second from July 1924 to March 1925—a total of about fourteen months. During these two periods I visited most parts of the Orokaiva country. For various reasons I concentrated mainly on the central Aigā tribe, and secondarily on the Binandele and Wasida. But all the other tribes were visited for shorter periods, and as the result of a general survey I found it possible to embrace the whole people in one ethnographic account.

Although the various tribes speak dialects of one and the same language, there are considerable differences between them, and I never gained a fluent speaking knowledge of any one of them. Several very good English-speaking inter-

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

dele, and the Tain-Daware. They then reappear on the river Waria, to the north of the last-mentioned tribes. Their distribution excludes in the main that of the small dramas for which the Orokaiva are famous, these latter belonging especially to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware.[1] Thus bull-roarer and flute on the one hand, and drama on the other tend to be mutually exclusive. It is noteworthy that the miniature drum, *saunda*, is confined to those three tribes who practice the drama.

Another significant distribution may be mentioned, viz. that of the yam. This vegetable is grown over the whole of the plain, but far less commonly in the north than the south, though it is not, as far as I know, debarred by climatic causes from flourishing in any part. But the yam-house and the extensive cultivation of yams disappear north of Divina Kovari, so that their distribution seems to correspond in some degree with that of the bull-roarer and the sacred flute.

Save for these few distinctions between South and North, the exclusive presence of bull-roarer, flute, and yam in the one, and of the drama and the *saunda* in the other, I have not been able to see any really important distinctions between the various component tribes of the Orokaiva. It may be stated with some confidence that the groundwork of their customs and institutions is the same throughout.

It is on the assumption of general uniformity among the tribes that the present report claims to refer to the people as a whole. The tribe with which I am best acquainted is that of the Aiga, who seemed to offer the best opportunities for research because they are fairly central and as yet less contaminated by European influence than most of the others. Out of a total Orokaiva population of some 9,000, this tribe numbers approximately 1,300, who are scattered in nearly fifty villages on or between the Opi and Kumusi rivers. To avoid confusion it will be the rule of this report to use the Aiga dialectal form for native words.

[1] I am not ready to say that the drama never appears among the Southern tribes. At any rate I cannot speak with any certainty about the Humjura.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Since it was described by Mr. Chinnery the *Kava Kava* cult has consolidated itself and expanded throughout almost the whole population of this division, who are generally known as the Orokaiva. It is with this movement that the present report concerns itself; but, as the expression 'Taro cult' has replaced *Kava Kava* in official and general use, the movement will be referred to by the former name. The 'Kekesi Rites' of Manau, which never attained the same popularity as the Taro cult, will call for a passing mention, as matter of great interest though small importance.

The reasons why I attack two subjects which have already been dealt with by another investigator should be made plain. In respect of the Taro cult, this report provides an opportunity for much fuller treatment than the scope of a short journal article could have allowed; and in respect of the Kekesi rites I merely add a few belated notes to the investigation which Mr. Chinnery conducted when the cult was at its height.[1]

In a previous report[2] I have dealt at some length with another movement, known as the Vailala Madness, which swept through the coastal regions of the Gulf Division in 1919 and 1920. But the Vailala Madness now appears to be on the wane, and very fortunately so in view of its especially violent and iconoclastic methods.

The main facts regarding the above-mentioned disturbances—for that appears to be a just term—are already on record and available. I am not aware, however, whether this is the case regarding a recent movement in Santo, New Hebrides, described by the Rev. E. Raff of Vila. Although this is, so to speak, off the Papuan beat, it possesses so much in common with some of the movements in our own territory that I have ventured, with Mr. Raff's permission, to reproduce his letter as an appendix.[3] Over and above these cases there have been

[1] For a further account of these rites vide L. A. Flint, Report of A. R. M. Ioma District, in *Papua Ann. Report*, 1920–1, p. 48.

[2] *Anthropology*, Report No. IV, 'The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Ceremonies in the Gulf Division,' Govt. Printer, Port Moresby.

[3] [See pp. 100–101 — Analyst.]

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

794^X
121

not a few others of a minor character in which the movement has been abortive, short-lived, or confined within narrow limits.

The question of how some of these new cults have succeeded in obtaining such wide acceptance, and in spreading with such wild-fire rapidity, is perhaps of greater practical interest than the question of their actual origin. With those which have been mentioned this swift and all-consuming progress has been their most remarkable feature. The Vailala Madness and the Taro cult have each in their time and place made a veritable conquest, a kind of bloodless victory in which innovation has met with welcome rather than resistance. It is indeed subject for remark that the native whom our despairing philanthropist, with his rejected gifts and suggestions, always calls an ultra-conservative, should leap forward to embrace anything so extremely new-fangled as the Vailala Madness or the Taro cult.

So general has been the adoption of the Taro cult by the Orokaiva people that no little confusion now exists between new and old; and the investigator is constantly perplexed in his endeavours to disentangle one from the other. To do so completely is impossible. One cannot make a mere abstraction of any complex feature of culture; although it may be in many respects new, still, if it will not conform in some manner to the moulds of former practice and belief, it will not find acceptance. One general aspect of the Taro cult which it behoves us all to understand is its *acceptability*.

When in regard to this and all the other new cults of Papua we observe the suddenness of their beginning and the rapidity of their spread, we may be assailed by a doubt concerning one of the assumptions of anthropology. We only know of those cults which have come into being since our acquaintance with the native. We are apt to assume that they are all in some manner the result of a clash between high civilization and low, in which the latter has had its head a little turned. That assumption

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

X-794
124

may be in the main correct. But when we consider the manner in which the Taro cult and the others have come into being, the easy and obvious way in which the first step is taken, and the rapidly increasing momentum and wave-like progress of the new movement, we may well enough suspect that similar wide changes have swept over native civilizations before our own coming. The almost absolute stability of native custom has been practically a maxim of anthropology. New religious cults such as these of Papua may do something to shake our faith in it. I may quote a remark—equally heterodox—of the Government Anthropologist, Dr. W. M. Strong:

> 'The way in which waves of culture, e.g. the Baigona and the Taro cults, have spread temporarily in the Northern Division (and also the Vailala Madness in the Gulf Division) makes me think that primitive culture is not always the fixed and invariable quantity which most Anthropologists seem to assume it is.'

Upon the same subject no less an authority than A. C. Haddon has written: 'These cults afford a valid ground of argument against the very prevalent notion of the permanence of all native institutions and of the supposed disinclination of primitive peoples to adopt new ideas or new cults.' [1]

From the administrative point of view I have already claimed an importance for the study of the new movements. The Taro cult gives more promise of permanency than the others. It has won such wide popularity among the Orokaiva, and seems to have rooted itself so firmly, that it cannot be regarded as an excrescence upon their civilization, but has already become a constituent part of it, and one of no small significance. From the strictly anthropological point of view there should be as much of interest in a new movement as in the customs for which we assume a primitive antiquity. It should serve as well as they to illustrate the deep-seated habits of mind which it is our main object to discover; so that its

[1] A. C. Haddon, *loc. cit.*, p. 436.

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

psychological, as well as its practical, interest will justify a full description.

The method which it is proposed to follow in this report may be briefly explained. Sections II–X will be devoted to a description of the movement; Sections XI and XII will consist of some comments, explanations, and suggestions upon it. The whole subject has proved to be far more complex than it at first appeared. It would not be possible to place one's finger on any particular fact and say, 'This explains everything'. Therefore in the latter part I have drawn attention to a number of considerations of various importance, without claiming that they afford anything like a complete explanation of the phenomena; and in the former part I have endeavoured, even at the cost of some repetition, to make the description as full as possible. This report is not an essay in which the evidence is all strictly relevant to the conclusions. The descriptive part of it will be found rather to outweigh the critical part. But it has been my object, at the risk of tedium, to set down all the information, so that others may be in a position to form their own opinions.

I am much indebted to Mr. Wurth the Resident Magistrate, and to Messrs. Elder and Holland of the Anglican Mission, for the information, the result of long-continued attention to the movement, which they have placed at my disposal, and which has been of considerable value in writing this report.

2. *Summary Description*

It was probably in the year 1911 that a native of Tufi, climbing Mount Victory alone, encountered a snake, and learnt from its mouth some strange facts of life and rules of conduct. Like Moses he went down from the mount unto the people and imparted to them his new knowledge. The snake was named *Baigona* and was, in true accord with the common doctrine of life after death among those people, a reincarnated spirit of the dead. Not only he, but all snakes were henceforward to be

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

[P. 169]
[P. 168 contains no Text]

OROKAIVA MAGIC

1. *Magic and Common Sense*

121 THE definition of magic has proved a highly unmanageable subject, and no attempt need be made here to answer a question upon which so many doctors have differed. All that is required is a fair delimitation of the subject of this report, i.e. of those practices and observances to which the name 'magic', a slippery word, is applied without a necessarily strict regard for its anthropological fitness.

I will not essay to deal at length with the time-honoured distinction, or lack of it, between magic and religion, but would prefer if possible to skip the subject, or at least dispense with it as quickly as may be. In the first place the observances we are to discuss will not be such as implicate higher personal powers. It is true they will often resort to the supernatural, but not to the spiritual. In the second place, and one may say as a corollary, they will not be such as employ methods of conciliation or propitiation. In the third place they will be regarded as including both good and bad. For the purposes of the present report they will be susceptible of the same treatment, whether they be directed toward social or anti-social ends. The division into good and bad is an important one which has been made the basis of a definition of magic, but for the present it may be regarded as a division *within* our subject.

It is proposed to look at these phenomena of the Stone Age from the standpoint of the twentieth century, i.e. to discuss any or all of those practices of the Orokaiva which we call magic, not only those which he would call magic himself. There is a large number of primitive practices, very simple and elementary, which in common speech may be called magical, but which are both in intent and effect entirely harmless. If a gardener, for

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

(21) instance, deposit a fragment of a certain leaf in the hole prepared for his taro shoot in order to make the plant grow well, we may be justified in using the word magic although the observance is without any anti-social intention. Furthermore, in such a simple example as this the word 'rite' seems over-pretentious, and as many of the examples we have to examine are not a whit more complicated or impressive, the word rite will as a rule be avoided in favour of the more colourless expressions 'practice' or 'observance'.

In passing it need hardly be said that these observances may be negative as well as positive, i.e. that they may take the form of taboo as well as of actual practice. The same sort of motives will account for an avoidance as well as a practical observance, so that no distinction is necessary.

In all the observances we must insist on their futility. It is only in an indirect and unintended manner that magic attains the result it aims at. When it succeeds in a direct manner it is *ipso facto* not magic but common sense. It will thus appear that magic, in the sense in which the word will be used here, is almost as wide a category as superstition, or at least as practical superstition, i.e. the acts, practices, and taboos which are based upon it. Yet it will be obvious that not all the futile practices of primitive folk are to be classed as magical. An action may be futile and yet (even from our point of view) thoroughly sensible. The cause of the futility may be that it is based on wrong information, incorrect observation, &c., which are sources of error to which the best of men are subject.

It will be found in the main that those observances with which we are concerned will admit of an explanation by the hypothesis of Sympathetic Magic. It would not mean that one subscribed to this hypothesis if one elected to use the phrase Sympathetic Magic, which has come into general use and which would at least cover the subject. To this large class of processes, however, there seems to belong this common feature, viz. that they aim

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

at results in a certain indirect manner, and in all of them we may detect what appear to be more or less remote symbols, either symbolic acts or symbolic objects. In fact, instead of the term sympathetic (in which there might be a false commitment) we may adopt the term symbolic. The word magic, then, will be used in this report for those obviously futile observances of primitive society which aim at results in an apparently symbolic manner. 121 •

There is one important point which should be made at an early stage. If the hypothesis on which the present report will proceed be correct, viz. that magic of the sort specified has its origin in impulse, then it follows that such magic may be spontaneous, i.e. any man's impulse may at any time and in regard to any circumstance take a form which constitutes in embryo a magical process. But such spontaneous magical processes are for one reason or another repeated, they are passed on from man to man, they lose their spontaneity and become customary. If they are pretentious enough they will then deserve the name of rites. Thus is created a large body of regular magical practice or ritual which, in contradistinction to the spontaneous kind, may be called conventional magic. It is thus seen that spontaneous magic becomes conventional magic. The former is impulsive; the latter is not practised on impulse, but is impulsive only in origin.

It may well be that the magic-maker has no belief in his magic unless it has already reached the second stage, viz. when it is sanctioned by custom and when he has learnt it by rote. It will remain to be seen or conjectured how this belief comes into being. The philosophy of it will be a still later stage. There are in fact three theoretical stages: (1) magic is in origin spontaneous and unthinking; (2) it becomes customary and is believed to be effective; (3) the reason for its effectiveness may call for some explanation from those who practise it.

It has been given as a premiss that we are to discuss

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

(2) those observances which we ourselves regard as magic, not simply those which the native would regard as such. It remains by way of introduction to compare these two categories more fully and to analyse the magical process into headings for subsequent discussion.

The scope of magic depends upon the education of those who practise it. We, who have a wide and fairly reliable knowledge of cause and effect, have also our idea of what is magic; and of course we do not condescend to practise it willingly and wittingly. We usually believe ourselves to be standing on solid ground. We know the people and things we are dealing with, and how they will react under given conditions. We fulfil the conditions and the expected result follows. This we call common sense; or, if it be a little more strictly demonstrable, science. Everything is above-board; we are not only confident of the result, but we think we understand how it comes about.

When we turn our attention to the native we find him engaged in a hundred practices which to our more advanced knowledge are obviously futile. From actions, words, and indeed imaginations, he is expecting results which are unfortunately quite independent of them. But he commonly feels the same confidence in them that we feel in our common-sense actions, and sometimes at any rate he thinks he understands how the results come about. It is plain that our category of magic does not coincide with his. What is magic in our eyes is often in his the plainest of common sense. And as his education advances, as his knowledge of causes and effects grows sounder and wider, he will come to see that some of the things he took for common sense are nothing more than magic.

Though there can be no doubt that we ourselves are sometimes guilty of magical practices, it is seldom that we admit it or even realize it. We can detect it easily enough in the conduct of those who are much more ignorant than ourselves; but it is not fair to expect that

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

these more ignorant people can so easily detect it in their own conduct. This point is obvious but not without importance, because one sometimes finds a tendency to regard native magic (whether well or ill intentioned) as in itself reprehensible.

It is not easy to define the native's own category of the magical. But if we examine those of his practices which we ourselves regard as magic, we will often be able to discover in them two more or less distinct elements—a routine or procedure, and a medicine or magical substance. The former is overt, the latter is occult. The former may indeed include the use of substances or objects, but there is no secrecy or mystery about them. The magical substance *par excellence* is something not understood.

This magical substance might be called a charm or even a talisman; but these words have acquired a connotation which seems out of keeping with the unpretentious methods of native magic. The word 'medicine', which is commonly used in regard to native magic, is avoided because it may so easily be applied to any substance which enters into the magical routine, and about which there is no suggestion of mystery or the supernatural. For the little extra, however, the primitive elixir, I propose to use the word 'specific', because, while the substances are of great variety, each is regarded as efficacious for some more or less special purpose. The word, however, must in this paper be given an extra meaning, viz. that of mystery or incomprehensibility.

An example will make the distinction clear. A man named Baravandari has been held responsible for the death of one Gogova. He is supposed to have extracted from Gogova's bag the remains of a betel-nut which his intended victim has bitten. This he wraps up in a small parcel of leaves *together with some saruka* (or sorcerer's specific). He puts it under a flat stone upon which he seats himself, heaving his body to and fro so as to give the betel-nut and the medicine a thorough crushing. Mean-

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

121 754 while he imitates *sotto voce* the blasts of the shell trumpet and the thin wailing of women. These sounds are meant to represent the trumpet which, with distinctive rhythm, will summon the mourners to Gogova's funeral, and the weeping of Gogova's womenfolk. Then he leaves the parcel under the flat stone till the victim shall sicken and die.

This case was recounted to me by an old man—himself a likely sorcerer—in the presence of a number of spectators. There was no secrecy regarding the procedure, but regarding the *saruka*, or magical substance, all the spectators and the old man himself professed complete ignorance. They were all capable of enacting the routine, but none were capable (so they professed) of killing the victim, because they did not know of the necessary specific.

121 789 The above case is one of black magic or sorcery, but the same applies to the innocent magic of everyday life. When the hunter has set up his pig-trap he throws into it some leaf or other—a pig-medicine—and cries, '*Ma, ma!*' (the conventional way of calling pigs in the village), and utters a grunting noise in his throat. These latter, the call and the grunt, are the procedure; the leaf (a more or less close secret) is the specific.

The use of a specific, however, is not invariable. Many of the minor practices which we should call magical are, so to speak, straight-forward magic. There is with them no necessity for any accessory power; no all-important but mysterious ingredient need be added. The magic works of itself. Successful or not it is simply an effort in the direction of the desired result. Such are spells, ejaculations, and gestures. The man who would drive off the rain cries *Wa doio!*'—'Cease rain!'—utters a long-drawn inarticulate cry, and sweeps back the clouds with a wave of his arm. A pig-hunter whispers *Engepu, engepu!*—'Come hither, come hither!'—as he waits in the garden by moonlight; and the little boy, visiting his bird-traps and finding one of them collapsed, says

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Teh, teh!—'Kill, kill!'—in the hopes of finding a dead bird under the wreckage. The villagers hoard their pig-jaws partly as mementoes and trophies, but also, as they sometimes explain, to ensure subsequent success in the hunt. To throw away the jaws where they would be lost to sight in the bush would be in some manner to throw away the hunter's chance of catching pigs. A pregnant woman who desires a male child conceals a mangrove stamen under her bark-cloth skirt. The stamen is said to resemble a penis, and so its influence in the matter of sex-determination is obvious enough. As far as I know the woman uses no other medicine, i.e. no specific, to help the mangrove stamen in its work. A pregnant woman who desires no child at all will slash the skin of a cucumber about its middle, and then slash herself about the middle: the cucumber rots and the woman has a miscarriage. This is only one of the many methods of abortion—old wives' remedies which are really made effective by pummelling and violence. It is not a secret, and in this case, as far as I know, there is no mysterious medicine.

Now it is hard to come by an explanation, a rationale, of his own magic from a native. In so far as set methods have replaced originality in magic the native learns these methods without troubling as to their why and wherefore. Where there is originality the magic is, as we shall see, more impulsive than rational. In either case he does not think the methods out. But sometimes a rather exceptional informant can explain them or give their reasons. And, indeed, to one who sees much of native magic, these methods take on a sort of obviousness. The obviousness, however, the why and wherefore, appertain to the procedure, not to the specific. They stop short at what is really the unknown factor. The man who goes through the whole magical practice may feel tolerably clear as to the significance of the procedure, but he can have only a blind faith in the specific.

Given, therefore, that in what we call native magic

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

121 there is always a procedure and sometimes a specific, it would seem that the only factor which the native allows really to puzzle him is the latter. As to the procedure he usually accepts and adopts it on authority; but he sometimes improvises it; and sometimes if he thinks hard he can give a plausible reason for it. At any rate it is to him a natural thing. As to the specific, however, he can probably give no explanation at all; he accepts it as a secret and guards it as one; and as for its powers, they are not natural but supernatural. It would appear, indeed, that originally the same magical explanations might apply to the specific as to the more obvious procedure. But the discovery or the patenting of the specific may have happened long back in the past, and in the course of its transmission from one to another the explanation, such as it was, has been forgotten, and the specific becomes simply an agent of inexplicable powers.

If the native has his own clear-cut category of the magical, it will, I believe, have to be limited to those practices in which the specific plays a part. The others, where the specific is absent, might still be magic to us, but to him they would be common sense. Indeed, it might be said that even where a specific is used the element of the practice which has been called procedure or routine is regarded as common sense, while the magic consists solely in the use of the mysterious medicine.

121 I know of no Orokaiva word which would cover our
789 whole idea of magic, but there are a number of general terms for specific or magical substance, either good or bad, e.g. *sivo* or *kore* for good specifics, *kai*, *inja*, or *saruka* for bad. A sorcerer, *kaiembo* or *injambo*, is one who uses *kai* or *inja*. A merely benevolent magic-maker, a practitioner of white magic, has no distinctive name for the plain reason that the character is universal; every man possesses certain *sivo* and *kore* which are applicable to some department of life. When he uses them he is making magic of the harmless or innocent sort. But when he performs some futile rite without a specific it probably

2: Williams E, G-5 (1923-1925) 1928
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

seems to him very natural and sensible. There is no appeal to any unknown power; his conduct is straightforward and aims direct at the result. Therefore, he would say, it is not magic.

It will be obvious that we can expect to learn little at present from the specific. It is proposed, therefore, in the next section to examine the magical procedure.

2. *The Procedure of Magic*

One or two further examples will show that Orokaiva magic has many features with which we are familiar. An old woman named Hojavo is reputed to be a rain-maker. At first she maintains her innocence of the charge, but finally yields to many assurances of indemnity and consents to show her magical recipe. First she takes a broad striated leaf of the tree *Gotomo*. (My interpreter points out a resemblance between this leaf and a certain kind of cloud, which I confess myself unable to see with him.) The *Gotomo* leaf is thoroughly crushed and deposited in an earthenware saucepan. Now the old woman takes a section of banana stalk of the kind called *Andoga*. This is especially succulent, and as she breaks and squeezes it in her hands over the pot it sheds a copious rain of drops. Meanwhile she is muttering *Ga bejo, ga bejo!*—'Rain come, rain come!' Then, when she has squeezed the *Andoga* stalk dry, she places it on top of the first leaf and the watery fluid in the pot, and leaves them in her house. For some reason the rain-maker must skulk indoors, not venturing out nor ever looking at the sky until she relents and is ready to unmake her magic. To do this she empties the earthenware pot; she lays out the saturated *Andoga* to dry; she looks into the sky and puffs her breath at it; she blows into her closed fist and then sweeps her open hand across the heavens, crying, *Ga tojo, ga tojo!*—'Rain be finished!'

A group of informants describe a method of causing that enormous distension of the scrotum, known as *bau peni*, which is sometimes seen among the Orokaiva and

3: Reay E-4, 5 (1951) 1953 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

SOCIAL CONTROL AMONGST THE OROKAIVA

By Marie Reay

Introduction

"Orokaiva" is a general term denoting people speaking Binandele and related dialects who occupy a large part of the Northern Division of Papua. Orokaiva society was investigated in some detail in the 1920's by the late Dr. F. E. Williams, Government Anthropologist. This article is based upon data furnished in Dr. Williams' published work,[1] supplemented by observations recorded by the author during a brief field period early in 1951 which was interrupted by the eruption of Mt. Lamington. My own observations refer to the Wasida or Jegase Sarahu tribe,[2] whereas some of Dr. Williams' information was gathered from the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes, which are situated in other parts of the Division but nevertheless reveal a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people.

In investigating social control amongst the Orokaiva, three aspects will be examined which would seem to be important in any empirical study of social control. Firstly, there are the ideals people expect one another to try to live up to: the Orokaiva use the convenient term *otohu* to refer to these. Secondly, it is necessary to study education in conformity, which involves a consideration of Orokaiva childhood and an examination of the ritual of initiation from this point of view. Thirdly, there are the actual sanctions operating to encourage conformity with Orokaiva ideals. There will be an attempt, finally, to assess the effectiveness of this system.

(1) Orokaiva Ideals

The Orokaiva term *otohu* is perhaps midway between behaviour which is normally expected and that which is ideally desirable. This term is used in two senses: adjectivally, it indicates that the person so described is well-behaved in certain definite ways and, secondly, it signifies an honorific ornament worn by a large number of people. A man is *otohu* if he is generous and helpful, and is diligent in gardening and hunting[3]; also, the *otohu* man does not quarrel or brawl, he does not steal, nor does he commit adultery. A woman is *otohu* if she listens to her husband and does not speak to him angrily, if she is faithful to him and accompanies him wherever

[1] F. E. Williams, "Plant-Emblems Among the Orokaiva," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LV, 1925; *Orokaiva Magic* (1928); *Orokaiva Society* (1930).

[2] Called the Jegasa-Saraa tribe by E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver (*Papuan Annual Report* for 1914–15, pp. 158 ff.).

[3] *I.e.*, if he is able to vary the diet of his household occasionally with food from the bush, and if he works his garden regularly.